WITCHCRAFT.

The few pages that close this work, are devoted entirely to a repetition of strong cases of ancient demonology and witchcraft detailed at the time of their occurrence by the Rev. Cotton Mather, a celebrated Divine in this country, and other clergymen and learned men of that day, many of which cases, they pledge their reputation, occurred within their own view, and are accurately and truly represented.

That they honestly believed what they have related, cannot be doubted by the reader on the perusal of the original. Indeed, *their excited* feelings affected more to keep up this strange belief in supernatural events, than all things else; for they were usually the prosecutors, witnesses, and jury, to try the guilty—for guilty they of course were, if suspected and accused. And the offenders were pre-judged, condemned, and executed in the minds of the tryers as much before the evidence was heard, as subsequent. It was a business of condemnation under high excitement, not of judicious, honest, adjudication of facts proved before them. The few cases I have collected, are only inserted here to shew the amazing improvement in the minds of men since that strange and truly eventful period of the dark ages.

The following are the only cases of trials for witchcraft upon the Records of the Colony of Connecticut, which are transcribed accurately from the Record.

A Court held at Hartford, July 2d, 1663.

Elizabeth Seger, thou art here Indited by the name of Elizabeth Seger, for not haveing the feare of God before thine Eyes; thou hast enterteined familiarity with Sathan, the grand Enemie of God and mankind, and by his help, hast acted things in a preternaturall way beyound the ordenary course of nature, as allso for that thou hast committed Adultery, and hast spoken Blasphemy against God, con-

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trary to the Lawes of God and the established Lawes of this Corporation, for all or any of which crimes by the sayd Lawes thou deservest to dye.

The Prisoner pleaded not Guilty of the Inditement, and refered herselfe to the tryall of the Jury.

The Jury returne that they finde the Prisoner Guilty of the Inditement in that perticuler of Adultery.

June, A. D. 1665.

The Inditement of Elizabeth Seger.

Elizabeth Seager, thou art here indited by the name of Elizabeth Seager, the wife of Richard Seager, not having the feare of God before thine eyes, thou hast entertained familiarity with *Satan*, the Grand Enemy of God and mankind—hast practiced witchcraft formerly, and continuist to practice witchcraft, for which, according to ye Lawes of God and the establisht Law of this Corporation, thou deservest to die.

The Prisoner answers not guilty, and refers herself to be tried by God and the Country.

The Jury being called to return their Verdict upon ye Inditement of Elizabeth Seager, the Foreman declares that they find the prisoner *Guilty* of familiarity with *Satan*.

Respecting Elizabeth Seager, this Court considering the verdict of ye Jury, and finding that it doth not legally answer the Inditement, doe therefore discharge and set her free from further suffering or imprisonment.

This is a true copy of record.

The same Elizabeth Segar had been before tried and acquited for the same offence committed with the crime of adultery, and found guilty of adultery, and not guilty of witchcraft.

Court of Assistance at Hartford May 25, 1699.

Kateram Harrison, thou standest here Indicted by ye name of Kateram Harrison, of Weathersfield, as being guilty of Witchcraft, for that thou not having the fear of

God before thine eyes, hast had familiarity with Sathan, the grand enamie of God and mankind; and by his help hast acted things beyound and besides the ordinary course of nature, and hast thereby hurt the bodyes of diuers of the Subjects of our Souraigne Lord, the King; for which, by the law of God and of this Corporation, thou oughtest to dye. What sayest thou for thyselfe, guilty or not guilty. The Prisoner returned not guilty, and referred herself to a Tryall by the Jury present.—Juryes Oath. You doe sware by the grate dreadfull name of the euerliuing God, that you well and truely try, Just verdict giue, and true deliuerance make between our Sourigan Lord, the King, and such Prisoner or Prisoners at the Barr as sheals be given you in charge according to euidence giuen in Court and the lawes, so help you God, in our Lord Jesus.

The Jury finding difficulty in the matter given them in charge, in refference to the Indictment of Kathern Harrison, cannot as yet, agree to give in a verdict; upon which the Court see cause to adjourne vntill the next Sasion of the Court of Assistant in October; at which time the Jury are to appare to give their verdict, and the Prisoner to remaine in duerance till that time.

A Court of Assistants held at Hartford October 12, 1699.

The Jury were called in Court, and did appeare, who were by the Court ordered to pass upon the consideration of the Indictment of Kath. Harrison, formerly committed to them,

The Jury being called to give in their verdict upon the Indictment of Katherin Harrison, returne that they find the Prisoner guilty of the Indictment.

This Court haueing considered the verdict of the Jury respecting Kathern Harrison, cannot concur with them so as to sentance her to Death, or to a longer continuance in restraynt, but do dismiss her from her imprisonment, she

paying her Just fees, willing her to minde the fullfilment of remouing from Weathersfield; which is that will tend most to her owne safety and the contentment of the people who are her neighbours.

WITCHCRAFT, 1694. P. 77.

Capt'n Daniel Clark at this Court as Att'y in behalf of our sovreign Lord, the King, appeared in Court and arrained Winnfield Benham Sen'r, and Winnfield Benham, Jr. both of Wallingford, for having familiarity with Satan, the enemy of God and mankind, and by his aid doing many preternatural arts, by mischievously hurting the bodies and goods of sundry persons, viz., of John Moses, Jr., Joseph Roys and Ebenezer Clark, with divers others, to the great damage and disturbance of the public peace, &c. This bill of Charges, with the testimonies relating thereunto, being referred to the consideration of the Grand Jury, returned upon the bill *Ignoramus*.

This suit was commenced at N. Haven, but tried at Hartford.

It is to be confessed and bewailed, that many inhabitants of New England, and young people especially, had been led away with little Sorceries, wherein they did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God: they would often cure hurts with spells and practice detestable conjurations with Sieves, and Keys, and Peas, and Nails, and Horse Shoes, to learn the things for which they had a forbiden and impious curiosity. Wretched Books had stolen into the land, wherein fools were instructed how to become able fortune tellers.

Although these diabolical divinations are more ordinarily committed perhaps all over the world, than they are in the country of New England, yet that being a country devoted unto the worship and service of the Lord Jesus Christ above the rest of the world, he signalized his vengeance

these wickednesses with such extraordinary dispensations as have not often seen in other places.

The Devils which had been so played withall, and it may be by some few criminals more explicitly engaged and employed, now broke in upon the country after as astonishing a manner as was ever heard of. Some scores of people, first about Salem, the centre and first born of all the towns in the Colony, and afterwards in other places, were arrested with many preturnatural vexations upon their bodies, and a variety of cruel torments which were evidently from the Demons of the invisible world. The people that were infected and infested with such demons, in a few days time arrived unto such a refining alteration upon their Eyes that they could see their tormentors: they saw a Devil of a little stature, and of a tawny colour, attended still with spectres that appeared in more human circumstances.

The tormentors tendered unto the afflicted a book requiring them to sign it, or to touch it at least, in token of their consenting to be listed in the service of the Devil; which they refusing to do, the Spectres under the command of that black man, as they called him, would apply themselves to torture them with prodigious molestations.

The afflicted wretches were horribly distorted and convulsed; they were pinched black and blue; pins would be run every where in their flesh; they would be scalded until they had blisters raised on them; and a thousand other things, before hundreds of witnesses, were done unto them, evidently preternatural; for if it were preternatural to keep a rigid fast for nine, yea, for fifteen days together; or if it were preternatural to have ones hands tied close together with a Rope to be plainly seen, and then by unseen hands presently pulled up a great way from the earth, before a crowd of people; such preternatural things were endured by them.

But of all the preternatural things which these people suffered, there were none more unaccountable than those

wherein the prestigious Demons would ever now and then cover the most corporeal things in the world with a fascinating mist of invisibility. As now, a person was cruelly assaulted by a spectre, that she said came at her with a spindle, though nobody else in the room could see either the spectre or the spindle; at last, in her agonies, giving a snatch at the spectre, she pulled the spindle away; and it was no sooner got into her hand, but the other folks then present beheld that it was indeed a real, proper, Iron spindle; which when they locked up very safe, it was, nevertheless, by the demons taken away to do farther mischief.

Again, a person was haunted by a most abusive spectre, which came to her, she said, with a sheet about her, though seen to none but herself. After she had undergone a deal of teaze from the annoyance of the spectre, she gave a violent snatch at the sheet that was upon it; wherefrom she tore a corner, which in her hand immediately was beheld by all that were present, a palpable corner of a sheet: and her Father, which was of her, catched, that he might see what his Daughter had so strangely seized; but the spectre had like to have wrung his hand off, by endeavouring to wrest it from him; however he still held it; and several times this od accident was renewed in the family. There wanted not the oaths of good credible people to these particulars.

Also it is known, that these wicked spectres did proceed so far as to steal several quantities of money from divers people, part of which individual money dropt sometimes out of the air, before sufficient spectators, into the hands of the afflicted, while the spectres were urging them to subscribe their covenant with death. Moreover, poisons to the standersby wholly invisibly, were sometimes forced upon the afflicted; which, when they have with much reluctancy swallowed, they have swoln presently, so that the common medicines for poisons have been found necessary to relieve them; yea, sometimes the spectres in the struggles have so

dropt the poisons, that the standersby have smelt them and viewed them, and beheld the pillows of the miserable stained with them. Yet more, the miserable have complained bitterly of burning rags run into their forcibly distended mouths; and though nobody could see any such cloths, or indeed any fires in the chambers, yet presently the scalds were seen plainly by every body on the mouths of the complainers, and not only the smell, but the smoke of the burning sensibly filled the chambers.

Once more the miserable exclaimed extremely of Branding Irons, heating at the fire on the hearth to mark them; now the standersby could see no Irons, yet they could see distinctly the print of them in the ashes, and smell them too, as they were carried by the not-seen furies unto the poor creatures for whom they were intended; and those poor creatures were thereupon so stigmatized with them, that they will bear the marks of them to their dying day. Nor are these the tenth part of the prodigies that fell out among the inhabitants of New England.

Flashy people may burlesque these things, but when hundreds of the most sober people, in a country where they have as much mother wit certainly as the rest of mankind, know them to be true, nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of saducism can question them. I have not yet mentioned one thing that will be justified, if it be required, by the oaths of more considerate persons than can ridicule these od phenomena.

But the worst part of this astonishing tragedy is yet behind; wherein Sir William Phips,* at last being dropt as it were from the machine of Heaven, was an instrument of easing the distresses of the land, now so darkened by the Lord of Hosts. There were very worthy men upon the

* Sir William Phips was at this time (1691) appointed Governor of the colony of Massachusetts, and was the principal instrument of putting a stop to the wild and ridiculous notions of witchcraft, which had for a long time pervaded the whole country.

spot where the assault from hel was first made, who apprehended themselves called from the God of Heaven, to sift the business unto the bottom of it; and indeed, the continual impressions which the outcries and the havocks of the afflicted people that lived nigh unto them caused on their minds, gave no little edge to this apprehension.

They did, in the first place, take it for granted, that there are witches, or wicked children of men, who upon covenanting with and commissioning of evil spirits, are attended by their ministry to accomplish the things desired of them: they had not only the assersions of the holy scriptures; assersions which the witch advocates cannot evade without shifts too foolish for the prudent, or too profane for any honest man to use; and they had not only well attested relations of the gravest authors, from Bodin to Bovet, and from Binsfield to Brombal and Baxter; to deny all which, would be as reasonable as to turn the chronicles of all nations into romances of Don Quixot and the Seven Champions; but they had also an occular demonstration in one, who a little before had been executed for witchcraft, when Joseph Dudley, Esqr. was the Chief Judge. There was one whose magical images were found, and who confessing her deeds, (when a Jury of Doctors returned her compos mentis,) actually showed the whole court by what ceremonies used unto them, she directed her familiar spirits how and where to cruciate the objects of her malice; and the experiment being made over and over again before the whole court, the effect followed exactly in the hurts done to the people at a distance from her. The existence of such witches was now taken for granted by the good men, wherein so far the generality of reasonable men have thought they ran well; and they soon received the confessions of some accused persons to confirm them in it; but then they took one thing more for granted, wherein it is now as generally thought they went out of the way. The afflicted people vehemently accused several persons, in several places, that the spectres

which afflicted them did exactly resemble them; until the importunity of the accusations did provoke the Magistrates to examine them. When many of the accused came upon their examination, it was found that the demons, then a thousand ways abusing of the poor afflicted people, had with a marvelous exactness represented them; yea, it was found that many of the accused, but casting their Eye on the afflicted, though their faces were never so much another way, would fall down and lie in a sort of a swoon, wherein they would continue, whatever hands were laid upon them, until the hands of the accused came to touch them, and then they would revive immediately; and it was found that various kinds of natural actions, done by many of the accused in or to their own bodies, as leaning, bending, turning awry, or squeezing their hands, or the like, were presently attended with the like things preternaturally done upon the bodies of the afflicted, though they were so far assunder that the afflicted could not at all observe the accused.

It was also found that the flesh of the afflicted was often bitten at such a rate, that not only the print of the teeth would be left on their flesh, but the very slaver of spittle too, even such as might be clearly distinguished from other peoples. And usually the afflicted went through a terrible deal of seeming difficulties from the tormenting spectres, and must be long waited on, before they could get a breathing space from their torments to give in their testimonies.

Now many good men took up an opinion, that the providence of God would not permit an innocent person to come under such a spectral representation; and that a concurrence of so many circumstances would prove an accused person to be in a confederacy with the demons thus afflicting of the neighbors; they judged, that except these things might amount unto a conviction, it would scarce be possible ever to convict a witch; and they had some philosophical schemes of witchcraft, and of the method and manner

wherein magical poisons operate, which further supported them in their opinion.

Sundry of the accused persons were brought unto their trial, while this opinion was yet prevailing in the minds of the Judges and Juries, and perhaps the most of the people in the country, then mostly suffering; and though some of them that were tried there came in so much other evidence of their diabolical compacts, that some of the most Judicious, and yet vehement opposers of the notions then in vogue, publicly declared, had they themselves been on the bench, they could not have acquitted them; nevertheless, divers were condemned, against whom the chief evidence was founded in the spectral exhibitions.

And it happening, that some of the accused coming to confess themselves guilty, their shapes were no more seen by any of the afflicted, though the confession had been kept never so secret, but instead thereof the accused themselves became in all vexations just like the afflicted; and this yet more confirmed many in the opinion that had been taken up.

And another thing that quickened them, yet more to act upon it, was, that the afflicted were frequently entertained with apparitions of Ghosts, at the same time that the spectres of the supposed witches troubled them: which Ghosts always cast the beholders into a far more consternation than any of the spectres; and when they exhibited themselves, they cried out of being murdered by the witchcrafts, or other violences of the persons represented in the spectres—once or twice the apparitions were seen by others at the very same time that they shewed themselves to the afflicted; and seldom were they seen at all, but when something unusual and suspicious had attended the death of the party thus appearing.

The Dutch and French Ministers in the province of New York, having likewise about this time their Judgment asked by the Chief Judge of that province, who was then a

gentleman of New England, they gave it under their hands that if we believe no *Venefick Witchcraft*, we must renounce the Scripture of God, and the consent of almost all the world; but that yet the apparition of a person afflicting another, is a very insufficient proof of a witch; nor is it inconsistent with the holy and righteous government of God over men, to permit the affliction of the neighbors, by devils in the shape of good men; and that a good name, obtained by a good life, should not be lost by mere spectral accusations.

Now upon a deliberate review of these things, his Excellency* first reprieved, and then pardoned many of them that had been condemned; and there fell out several strange things that caused the spirit of the country to run as vehemently upon the acquitting of all the accused, as it by mistake ran at first upon the condemning of them.

In fine, the last Courts that sate upon this thorny business, finding that it was impossible to penetrate into the whole meaning of the things that had happened, and that so many unsearchable cheats were interwoven into the conclusion of a mysterious business, which perhaps had not crept thereinto at the beginning of it, they cleared the accused as fast as they tried them; and within a little while the afflicted were most of them delivered out of their troubles also; and the land had peace restored unto it, by the God of peace, treading Satan under foot.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"*Relating to the wonders of the invisible world, in preter-natural occurrences.*"

"Of these, I will now offer the publick, some remarkable histories; for every one, which we have had such a sufficient evidence, that no reasonable man in this whole country, ever did question them; and it will be unreasonable

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* Sir William Phips.

to do it in any other. For my own part, I would be as exceedingly afraid of writing a false thing, as of doing an ill thing; but have my pen always more in the fear of God."

THE FIRST EXAMPLE.

Ann Cole, a person of serious piety, living in the house of her godly Father, in the year 1662, was taken with very strange fits, wherein her tongue was improved by a demon, to express things unknown to herself. The general purpose of the discourse, which held sometimes for a considerable while, was, that such and such persons named in the discourse, were consulting how they might carry on mischievous designs against her and several others, by afflicting their bodies or destroying their good names; upon all which, the general answer heard among these invisible speakers, was, *ah! she runs to the Rock!* after such an entertainment had held for some hours, the *demons* were heard saying, *let us confound her language, that she may tell no more tales.* Whereupon the conference became unintelligible to the standers by, and it pass'd in a Dutch tone giving therein an account of mischiefs that had befallen divers persons. Several eminent ministers wrote the speeches of the spirits, thus heard in the mouth of this Ann Cole; and one of the persons therein mentioned, as active in the matter then spoken of (whose name was Greensmith) being then in prison on suspicion of witchcraft, was brought before the Magistrates. The Ministers now reading to her what they had written, she with astonishment, confes'd that the things were so, and that she with other persons, named in the papers, had familiarity with a devil. She said that she had not yet made a formal covenant with her devil, but only promised that she would go with him when he called her, which she had sundry times done accordingly: and that he told her, that at *Christmas*, they would have a *merry meeting*, and then the agreement between them should be subscribed. She acknowledged the day following, that when Ministers began to read what they did, she was in

such a rage, that she could have torn them to pieces; and she was resolved upon the denial of her guilt; but after they had read awhile, she was as if her flesh were pull'd from her bones, and she could no longer do what they charged upon her. She declared that her devil appeared unto her first in the shape of a Deer, skipping about her, and at last proceeded so far as in that shape to talk with her; and the devil had frequently carnal knowledge of her. Upon this confession, with other concurrent evidence, the woman was Executed, and other persons accused, made their escape: whereupon *Ann Cole*, was happily deliver'd from the extraordinary troubles wherewith she had been exercis'd.

THE SECOND EXAMPLE.

In the town of Groton, one *Elizabeth Knap*, (October 1671,) was taken after a very strange manner; sometimes weeping, sometimes laughing, sometimes roaring, with violent agitations, crying out *Money, Money*, her tongue would be for many hours together drawn like a semi-circle, up to the roof of her mouth; so that no fingers applyed unto it, could remove it. Six men were scarce able to hold in some of her fits; but she would skip about the house yelling and howling, and looking hideously.

On Dec. 17th, her tongue being drawn out of her mouth to an extraordinary length, a *demon* began manifestly to speak in her; for many words were distinctly uttered, wherein are the labiel letters, without any motion of her lips at all: words also, were uttered when her mouth was wide open, but no organs of speech us'd therein. The chief things that the *demon* spoke, were horrid railings against the godly minister of the town; but sometimes he likewise belch'd out most nefaridous blasphemies against the God of Heaven. And one thing about this young woman was yet more particularly remarkable: she cried out in her fits that a certain woman in the neighbourhood

appeared unto her, and was the only cause of her affliction.

The Woman thus cry'd out upon, was doubtless an holy, a devout, a vertuous person; and she, by the advice of her friends, visited the afflicted. The possessed creature, tho' she was in one of her fits, and had her eyes wholly shut, yet when this innocent woman was coming, she discover'd herself wonderfully sensible of it, and was in grievous agonies at her approaches.

But this *inocent woman* thus accused and abus'd by a malicious devil, pray'd earnestly with, as well as for this possess'd creature; whereupon coming to herself, she confess'd that she had been deluded by Satan, and compell'd by him unreasonably to think and speak evil of a good neighbour without a cause. After this, there was no further complaint of such an ones apparition; but she said some devil in shape of divers, did very diversly and cruelly torment her, and then told her it was not *he*, but *they*, that were her tormentors.

THE THIRD EXAMPLE.

In the third year, 1679, the House of *William Morse*, at *Newbury*, was infested with *demons* after a most horrid manner, not altogether unlike the *demons of Tedworth*. It would fill many pages to relate all the infestations; but the chief of 'em were such as these. *Bricks*, and *sticks*, and *stones*, were often by some invisible hand, thrown at the house, and so were many pieces of Wood: a cat was thrown at the Woman of the house, and a long *staff* danc'd up and down in the chimney; and afterwards the same long *staff* was hang'd by a line and swung to and fro, and when two persons laid it on the fire to burn it, it was as much as they were able to do with their joint strength to hold it there. An *Iron crook* was violently by an invisible hand, hurl'd about; and a chair flew about the room untill at last it litt upon a table where the meat stood ready to be eaten, and

had spoiled all if the people had not with much ado saved a little. A *chest* was by an invisible hand, carried from one place to another, and the doors barricado'd, and the keys of the family taken, some of them from the bunch where they were ty'd, and the rest flying about with a loud noise of their knocking against one another. For a while the folks of the house could not sup quietly, but ashes would be thrown into their suppers, and on their heads, and their cloaths; and the *shooes* of the man being left below, one of them was fill'd with ashes and coals, and thrown up after him. When they were a bed, a stone weighing about three pounds, was divers times thrown upon them. A box and a board was likewise thrown upon them; and a bag of hops being taken out of a chest, they were by the *invisible hand,* beaten therewith till some of the hops were scatter'd on the floor where the bag was then laid and left. The man was often struck by that hand with several instruments; and the same hand cast their good things into the fire: yea, while the man was at prayer with his household, a *beesom* gave him a blow on his head behind, and fell down before his face. When they were winnowing their Barley, dirt was thrown at them; and assaying to fill their half bushel with corn, the *foul corn* would be thrown in with the clean so irresistibly that they were forc'd thereby to give over what they were about. While the man was writing, his *Ink horn* was by the *invisible hand,* snatch'd from him; and being able no where to find it, he saw it at length drop out of the air down by the fire. A *Shooe* was laid upon his shoulder; but when he would have catch'd it, it was rapt from him; it was then clapt upon his head, and there he held it so fast that the *unseen* fury pull'd him with it backward on the floor. He had his cap torn off his head, and in the night he was pull'd by the hair and pinched and scratch'd; and the *invisible hand* prick'd him with some of his *awls,* and with *needles,* and *bodkins;* and *blows* that fetched blood were sometimes given. Frozen clods of

cow dung were often thrown at the man; and his Wife going to milk the cows, they could by no means preserve the vessels of milk from the like annoyances, which made it fit only for the *hogs*.

She going down into the cellar, the trap-door was immediately by an *invisible hand*, shut upon her, and a table brought and laid upon the door which kept her there till the man remov'd it. When he was writing another time, a dish went and leapt into a pail, and cast water on them, and on all the concerns before him, so as to defeat what he was then upon. His cap jump'd off his head, and on again, and the pot lid went off the pot into the kettle, then over the fire together.

A little Boy belonging to the family, was a principal *sufferer* in these *molestations;* for he was flung about at such a rate that they fear'd his brains would have been *beaten out;* nor did they find it possible to hold him. His bed cloathes would be pull'd from him, his bed shaken, and his bed staff leap forward and backward. The man took him to keep him in a chair, but the chair fell a dancing, and both of them were very near being thrown into the fire. He was taken out of his bed and thrown under it, and all the knives belonging to the house were, one after another, stuck into his back, which the spectators pull'd out; only one of them seem'd to the spectators to come out of his mouth. The poor boy was divers times thrown into the fire and preserv'd from scorching there, with much ado. For a long while he bark'd like a dog, and then he *cloqu'd* like a hen; and could not speak ratonally. His tongue would be pull'd out of his mouth; but when he could recover it so far as to speak, he complain'd that a man called P——l, appeared unto him as the cause of all.

Once in the day-time he was transported where none could find him, till at last they found him creeping on one side, and sadly dumb and lame. When he was able to express

himself, he said P——l *had carried him over the top of the house, and hurted him against the cart wheel in the barn;* and accordingly they found some remainders of the thresh'd Barley, which was on the Barn floor, hanging about his garments.

The *spectre* would make all his meat, when he was going to eat, fly out of his mouth; and instead thereof, make him fall to eating of ashes, and sticks, and yarn. The man and his Wife taking the boy to bed with them, a chamber-pot, with its contents, was thrown upon them; they were severely pinch'd, and pull'd out of the bed; and many other fruits of *devilish spite* were they dogg'd withall, until it pleased God mercifully to shorten the *chain of the devil.* But before the *devil* was chain'd up, the *invisible hand,* which did all these things, began to put on an astonishing *visibility.*

They often thought they felt the hand that scratch'd them, while yet they saw it not; but when they thought they had hold of it, it would give them the slip. Once the *fist* beating the man was discernible, but they could not catch hold of it. At length an apparition of a *Blackamoor Child* shew'd itself plainly to them. And another time a drumming on the boards was heard, which was follow'd with a voice that sang, *revenge, revenge, sweet is revenge.* At this, the people being terrify'd, call'd upon God: whereupon there follow'd a mournful note, several times uttering these expressions, *alas! alas! we knock no more, we knock no more!* and there was an end of all.

On June 11, 1682, showers of stones were thrown by an *invisible hand* upon the house of *George Walton,* at Portsmouth. Whereupon the people going out, found the gate wrung off the hinges, and stones flying and falling thick about them, and striking of them seemingly with a *great force,* but really affecting them no more than if a *soft touch* were given them. The *Glass windows* were broken to

pieces by stones that came not from *without*, but from *within;* and other instruments were in like manner hurl'd about. Nine of the stones they took up, whereof some were as hot as if they came out of the fire; and marking them, they laid them on the table; but in a little while they found some of them again flying about. The spit was carried up the chimney; and coming down with the point forward, stuck in the back log; from whence one of the company removing it, it was by an *invisible hand* thrown out at the window. This disturbance continued from day to day; and sometimes a dismal hollow *whistling* would be heard, and sometimes a *trotting* and *snorting* of an *horse*, but nothing to be seen. The man went up the great Bay in a Boat unto a farm he had there; but there the *stones* found him out; and carrying from the house to the Boat a stirrup Iron, the Iron came jingling after him through the woods as far as the house; and at last went away, and was heard of no more. The Anchor leap'd overboard several times, and stopt the Boat. A *cheese* was taken out of the Press, and crumbl'd all over the floor; a piece of *Iron* stuck into the wall, and a kettle hung thereon. Several cocks of hay mow'd near the house, were taken up and hung upon trees, and others made into small wisps, and scattered about the house. The man was much hurt by some of the stones: he was a Quaker, and suspected a Woman who charged him with injustice in detaining some land from her, did by witchcraft occasion these preternatural occurrences. However, at last, they came to an end.

In June, 1682, *Mary*, the wife of *Antonio Hortado*, dwelling near the *Salmon falls*, heard a voice at the door of her house, calling *what do you here?* Two or three days after, a great stone was thrown along the house; which the people going to take up, was unaccountably gone. A *frying pan*, then in the chimney, rang so loud, that the people at an hundred rods distance heard it; and the said

Mary, with her husband, going over the River in a Canoo, they saw the *head* of a *man*, and about three foot off, the *tail of a cat*, swimming before the Canoo, when they returned, but at their landing, it first disappeared. A stone thrown by an *invisible hand*, after this, caused a *swelling* and a *soreness* in her head; and she was *bitten* on both arms black and blue, and her breast scratch'd, the impression of the teeth, which were like a man's teeth, being seen by many.

They deserted the house on these occasions, and tho' at a neighbour's house they were at first haunted with *apparitions*, *the Satanical molestations* quickly ceas'd. When Antonio went unto his own house, at the *entrance*, there he heard one *walking* in his chamber, and saw the boards buckle under the feet of the walker; and yet there was nobody there. For this cause, he went back to dwell on the other side of the River; but thinking he might *plant his ground*, tho' he left his *house*, he had five rods of good log fence thrown down at once, and the footing of *neat cattle* plainly to be seen almost between every row of corn in the field; and yet no cattle seen there, nor any damage done to his *corn*, or so much as a leave of it cropt.

Mr. Philip Smith, aged about fifty years, a son of eminently vertuous parents, a Deacon of a Church in *Hadley*, a member of the *General Court*, a *Justice* in the *Countrey Court*, a *Select Man* for the affairs of the town, a *Lieutenant of the troop*, and which crowns all, a man of *devotion*, *sanctity*, *gravity*, and all that was honest exceeding examplary. Such a man was, in the winter of 1684, murder'd with an hideous *witchcraft*, that filled all those parts of *New England* with astonishment. He was, by his office, concerned about relieving the *indigences* of a wretched woman in town; who being dissatisfy'd at some of his just cares about her, express'd herself unto him in such a manner, that he declared himself thenceforward apprehensive of receiving mischief at her hands.

About the beginning of January, he began to be very *valetudinarious*, labouring under pains that seem'd *Ischiatick*. The standersby could now see in him one ripening apace for another world, and fill'd with grace and joy to a high degree. He shew'd such weanedness from weariness of the world, that he knew not (he said) whether he might pray for his continuance here: and such assurance he had of the divine love unto him, that in raptures he would cry out, *Lord, stay thy hand; it is enough, it is more than thy frail servant can bear.* But in the midst of these things, he still utter'd and had hard suspicion that the ill woman who had threatened him, had made impressions with inchantments upon him. While he remain'd yet of a *sound mind*, he very sedately, but very solemnly, charged his brother to look well after him. Tho' he said he now understood himself, yet he knew not how he might be. *But be sure (said he) to have a care of me; for you shall see strange things. There shall be a wonder in Hadley! I shall not be dead, when 'tis thought I am!* He press'd this charge over and over; and afterwards became delirious; upon which he had a speech *incessant* and *voluble*, and (as was judg'd) in various languages. He cry'd out, not only of *pains* but also of *pins*, tormenting him in several parts of his body; and the attendants found one of them.

In his distresses he exclaimed much upon the woman aforesaid, and others, as being seen by him in the room; and there was divers times both in that room, and over the whole house, a strong smell of something like *musk*, which once particularly so scented an Apple roasting at the fire, that it forc'd them to throw it away. Some of the young men in the town being out of their wits, at the strange calamities thus upon one of their neighbours, went three or four times to give disturbance unto the woman thus complained of: and all the time they were disturbing of her, he was at ease, and slept as a weary man: yea, these were the only times that they perceived him to take any sleep in

his illness. Gally pots of medicines provided for the sick man, were unacountably empty'd: audible *scratchings* were made about the bed, when his hands and feet lay wholly still, and were held by others. They beheld fire sometimes on the bed; and when the beholders began to discourse of it, it vanished away. Divers people actually felt something often stir in the bed, at a considerable distance from the man: it seem'd as big as a cat, but they could never grasp it. Several trying to lean on the beds head, tho' the sick man lay wholly still, the bed would shake so as to knock their heads uncomfortably. A very strong man could not lift the sick man to make him lie more easily, tho' he apply'd his utmost strength unto it; and yet he could go presently and lift a bedstead, and a man lying on it, without any strain to himself at all. Mr. Smith dies; the Jury that view'd his corpse, found a swelling on the breast, his ——— wounded or burn'd, his back full of bruises, and several holes that seem'd. After the *opinion* of all had *pronounced* him dead, his *countenance* continued as lively as if he had been alive; his ewyes closed as in a slumber, and his nether Jaw not fallen down.

Thus he remain'd from Saturday morning about sunrise, till *Sabbath-day*, in the afternoon; when those who took him out of the bed, found him still warm, tho' the season was as cold as had almost been known in any age: and a New English winter does not want for cold.

On the night following his *countenance* was yet fresh as before; but on Monday morning they found the face extreemely tumify'd and discolourd. It was black and blue, and fresh blood seem'd *running* down his cheek upon the hairs. Divers noises were also heard in the room where the corpse lay; as the clattering of chairs and stools, whereof no account could be given.

This was the end of so good a man. And I could with *unquestionable evidence* relate the tragical deaths of several *good men* in this land attended with such *preternatural cir-*

cumstances, which have loudly call'd upon us all to *work out our own salvation with fear and treambling.*

There was one Mary Johnson, try'd at Hertford in this countrey, upon an indictment of *familiarity with the Devil*, and was found guilty thereof, cheifly upon her own confession. Her confession was attended with such convictive circumstances, that it could not be slighted. Vary many material passages relating to this matter, are now lost: but so much as is well known, and can still be prov'd shall be inserted.

She said her familiarity with the devil came through *discontent*, and wishing the Devil to take this and that, and the Devil to do that and t'other thing; whereupon a Devil appear'd unto her, tendering her what *services* might content her. A devil accordingly did for her many services. Her master blam'd her for not carrying out the ashes, and a Devil afterwards would clear the hearth of ashes for her. Her master sending her to drive out the Hogs, that sometimes broke into the field, a Devil scare the hogs away, and make her laugh to see how he teaz'd them. She confess'd that she had murdered a child, and, committed *uncleanness* both with men and with Devils. In time of her *imprisonment*, the famous Mr. Stone was at great pains to promote her conversion from the Devil to God; and she was by the best observers judged very penitent, both before her Execution and at it; and she went out of the world with comfortable hopes of *mercy* from God through the merit of our Saviour. Being asked what she built her hopes upon, she answer'd, upon these words; *come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest;* and these; *there is a fountain set open for sin and uncleanness.* And she dy'd in a frame extreamly to the satisfaction of them that were spectators of it.

Four children of John Goodwin in Boston, which had enjoy'd a religious education, and answered it with a tow-

ardly ingenuity : children indeed of an examplary temper and carriage, and an example to those about them for piety, honesty and industry. These were in the year 1688, arrested by a very stupendous witchcraft. The eldest of the children, a daughter of about thirteen years old, saw cause to examine their laundress, the daughter of a scandalous Irish woman in the neighborhood, about some Linen that was missing; and the woman bestowing very bad language on the child, in her Daughter's defence, the child was immediately taken with odd fits, that carried in them something *diabolical.* It was not long before one of her sisters, with two of her brothers, were horribly taken with the like fits which the most experienced physicians pronounced extraordinary and *preternatural:* and one thing that the more confirmed in this opinion was, that all the children were tormented, still, just the same part of their bodies, at the same time, tho' their pains flew like swift lightning from one part unto another, and they were kept so far asunder, that they neither saw nor heard one anothers complaints. At 9 or 10 o'clock at night, they still had a release from their miseries, and slept all night pretty comfortably. But when the day came, they were most miserably handled. Sometimes they were *deaf*, sometimes *dumb*, sometimes *blind*, and often all this at once. Their *tongues* would be *drawn down* their throats, and then pull'd out upon their *chins* to a prodigious length. Their *mouths* were forc'd open to such a wideness, that their Jaws went out of joint: and anon clap together again, with a force like that of a *Spring Lock*; and the like would happen to their shoulder blades and their elbows, and hand wrists, and several of their joints. They would lie in a *benumb'd condition*, and be drawn together like those that are tied neck and heels; and presently be stretch'd out, yea drawn back enormously. They made piteous outcries, that they were cut with *knives*, and struck with blows; and the plain prints of the *wounds* were seen upon them. Their necks would be broken so that

their *neck bone* would seem dissolved unto them that felt after it; and yet on the sudden it would come again so stiff, that there was no stiring of their heads: yea, their heads would be twisted almost *round:* and if the main force of their friends at any time obstructed a dangerous motion which they seem'd upon, they would roar exceedingly: and when devotions were performed with them, their *hearing* was utterly taken from them. The Ministers of Boston and Charlestown, kept a day of *prayer and fasting*, on this occasion, at the troubled house, the youngest of the four children was immediately, happily, finally deliver'd from all its trouble. But the Magistrates being awakened by the noise of these grievous and horrid occurrences, examined the person who was under the suspicion of having employ'd these troublesome *demons;* and she gave such a wretched account of herself, that she was committed unto the Gaoler's custody.

It was not long before this woman (whose name was Glover,) was brought upon her trial; but then the court could have no answers from her, but in the Irish, which was her native language, although she understood English in her former conversation. When she pleaded to her indictment, it was with owning and *bragging*, rather than denial of her guilt. And the interpreters, by whom the communication between the bench and the bar was managed, were made sensible that a *spell* had been laid by another *witch* on this, to prevent her telling tales, by confining her to a language which 'twas hoped nobody would understand. The woman's house being searched, several *images*, or *poppets*, or *babies*, made of rags and stuffed with *Goat's hair*, were thence produced, and the vile woman confessed that her way to torment the objects of her malice was by wetting of her finger with her spittle, and stroaking of those little *images*. The abused children were then present in the court; the wooman kept still stooping and shrinking, as one that was almost prest unto death with a mighty weight upon her. But one of the *images* being

brought unto her, she odly and swiftly started up, and snatch'd it into her hand; but she had no sooner snatch'd it, than one of the children fell into sad fits, before the whole assembly. The Judges had their just apprehensions at this, and carefully causing a repetition of the experiment, they still found the same event of it, thô' the children saw not when the hand of the *witch* was laid upon the *images*: they asked her *whether she had any to stand by her?* She replied *she had:* and looking very pertly into the air, she added, *no he's gone!* and she then acknowledged that she had *one*, who was her *prince*, with whom she mentioned I no not what *communion*. For which cause, the night after she was heard expostulating with a *Devil*, for his thus deserting her, telling him, that *because he had served her so basely and falsely she had confessed all.*

However, to make all clear, the Court appointed five or six Physicians to examine her very strictly, whether she was no way crazed in her intellectuals. Divers hours did they spend with her; and in all that while, no discourse came from her but what was *agreeable;* particularly when they ask'd her what she thought would become of her Soul, she replied, *you ask me a very solemn question, and I cannot tell what to say.* She profest herself a *Roman Catholick*, and could recite her *Pater-noster* in Latin very readily; but there was one clause or two always too hard for her, wherefore she said, *she could not repeat it if she might have all the world.*

In the upshot, the Doctors return'd her *compos mentis*, and sentence of death was past upon her. Divers days past between her being arraign'd and condemned; and in this time, one *Hughes* testified that her neighbour (called *Howen*,) who was cruelly *bewitch'd* unto death, about six years before, laid her death to the charge of this woman, and bid her (the said *Hughes*,) to remember this, for within six years there would be occasion to mention it. One of *Hughes* children was presently taken ill in the same woful

manner that Goodwin's; and particularly the Boy in the night cried out that a *black person* with a *blue cap*, in the room, tortured him, and that they tried with their hand in the bed, for to pull out his bowels. The mother of the Boy went unto *Glover* the day following, and asked her *why she tortured her poor lad at such a rate? Glover* answered, *because of the wrong she had received from her;* and *boasted* that she *had come at him as a black person with a blue cap, and with her hand in the bed, would have pull'd his bowels out, but could not. Hughes* denied that she had wronged her; and *Glover* then desiring to see the boy, wished him well; upon which he had no more of his indispositions. After the condemnation of the woman, I did myself give divers visits unto her; wherein she told me that she used to be at meetings, where her prince with four more were present. She told me who the four were, and plainly said *that her prince was the Devil.* When I told her that and how her Prince had cheated her, she reply'd, *if it be so I am sorry for that!* And when she declined answering some things that I asked her, she told me *she would fain give me a full answer, but her spirits would* not give her leave; nor could she consent, she said, without their leave, that *I should pray for her.* At her execution, she said the afflicted children should not be relieved by her death, for others besides she had a hand in their affliction. Accordingly the *three children* continu'd in their furnace as before; and it grew rather *seven times hotter* than it was. In their fits they cry'd out (*they*) and (*them*) as the authors of all their miseries; but who that (*they*) and (*them*) were, they were unable to declare; yet at last one of the *children* was able to discern their shapes, and uttered their names. A blow at the place where they saw the spectre, was always felt by the *Boy* himself in that part of his body that answer'd what might be stricken at; and this tho' his back were turn'd, and the thing so done that there could be no collusion in it. But as a blow at the *spectre* always hurt

him, so it always help'd him too; for after the agonies, to which a push or stab at that had put him, were over, (in a minute or two they would be,) he would have a respite from his ails a considerable while, and the spectre would be gone; yea, it was very credibly affirmed, that a dangerous woman or two in the town receiv'd wounds by the blows thus given to the *spectres*. The calamities of the children went on till they barked at one another like *dogs*, and then *purred* like so many *cats*. They would complain that they were in a *red hot oven*, and sweat and pant as much as if they had been really so. Anon they would say that cold water was thrown on them, at which they would shiver very much. They would complain of *blows* with great cudgels laid upon them, and we that stood by, though we could see no cudgels, yet could see the marks of the *blows* in red streaks upon their flesh.

They would complain of being *roasted* on an *invisible spit;* and lie and roll and groan as if it had been most sensibly so; and by and by shriek that knives were cutting of them. They would complain that their *heads were nailed* unto the floor, and it was beyond an ordinary strength to pull them from thence. They would be so limber sometimes, that it was judg'd every *bone* they had might be bent; and anon so stiff, that not a joint of them could be stired.

One of them dreamt that something was growing within his skin, cross one of his ribs. An expert Chirurgeon searcht the place, and found there a brass pin, which could not possibly come to lie there as it did, without a prestigious and misterious conveyance. Sometimes they would be very mad, and then they would climb over high fences, yea, they would fly like *geese*, and be carried with an incredible *swiftness* through the air, having but just their toes now and then upon the ground, (sometimes not once in *twenty foot*,) and their arms *waved* like the wings of a bird. They were often very near *drowning or burning* of themselves; and they often *strangled* themselves with their

neck cloths; but the providence of God still ordered the seasonable succors of them that looked after them. If there happened any mischief to be done where they were, as the dirtying of a *garment*, or spilling of a cup, or breaking of a glass, they would laugh excessively.

But upon the least reproof of their parents, they were thrown into inexpressible anguish, and roar as excessively. It usually took up abundance of time to *dress* them or *undress* them, through the strange postures into which they would be *twisted*, on purpose to hinder it; and yet the *demons* did not know our thoughts; for if we used a jargon, and said untie his neckcloth, but the party bidden understood our meaning to be untie his shooe, the neckcloth, and not the shooe, has been by writhen postures rendered strangely *inaccessible*. In their beds they would be sometimes treated so, that no cloaths could for an hour or two be laid upon them. If they were bidden to do a *needless* thing, (as to rub a *clean table*,) they were able to do it unmolested; but if to do any *useful* thing, (as rub a *dirty table*,) they would *presently*, with many torments, be made uncapable.

They were sometime hindred from eating their *meals*, by having their *teeth set* when any thing was carrying to their mouths. If there were any discourse of *God*, or *Christ*, or any of the *things which are not seen, and are eternal*, they would be cast into *intolerable anguishes*.—All praying to God, and reading of his word, would occasion 'em a very *terrible vexation*. Their own ears would then be stopt with their own hands, and they would roar, and howl, and shriek, and hollow, to *drown* the voice of the devotions, yea, if any one in the room took up a Bible to look into it, tho' the children could see nothing of it, as being in a crowd of spectators, or having their faces another way, yet would they be in *wonderful torments* till the *Bible* was laid aside. Briefly, *no good thing* might then be endured near those children, which, while they were themselves,

loved every good thing, in a measure that proclaimed in them the fear of God. If I said unto them, *child, cry to the Lord Jesus Christ!* their *teeth* were instantly set. If I said, *yet, look unto him!* their eyes were instantly pull'd so far into their heads, that we fear'd they could never have us'd them any more.

It was the eldest of these children that fell chiefly under my own observation: for I took her home to my own family, partly out of compassion to her parents, but chiefly, that I might be a critical eye witness of these things, that would enable me to confute the saducism of this debauched age. Here she continued well for some days, applying herself to actions of industry and piety: but Nov. 20, 1688, she cry'd out, *Ah, they have found me out,* and immediately she fell into fits. Wherein we often observed that she would cough up a ball as big as a small Egg into the side of the *wind pipe,* that would near choke her, till by stroaking and by drinking, it was again carried down.

When I prayed in the room, first her hands were with a *strong,* tho' not even force, clapt upon her ears; and when her hands were by our force pulled away, she cry'd out, *they make such a noise I cannot hear a word!* She complained that *Glover's* chain was upon her leg; and assaying to go, her gait was exactly such as the *chained witch* had before she died. When her *tortures* pass'd over, still frolicks would succeed, wherein she would continue hours, yea, days together, talking perhaps never wickedly, but always wittily beyond herself. And at certain provocations her torments would *renew* upon her, till we had left off to give them; yet she frequently told us in these frolicks, *that if she might but steal, or be drunk, she should be well immediately.* She told us, *that she must go down to the botttom of our well,* (and we had much ado to hinder it) *for they said there was plate there, and they would bring her up safely again.* We *wondered* at this, for she had never heard of any plate there; and we ourselves, who

had newly bought the house, were ignorant of it; but the *former owner* of the house just then comeing in, *said there had been plate for many years lost at the bottom of the well.* Moreover, one singular passion that frequently attended her, was this.

An *invisible chain* would be clapt about her, and she in much pain and fear, cry out when (*they*) began to put it on. Sometimes we could with our hands knock it off, as it began to be fastened, but ordinarily, when it was on, she would be pull'd out of her seat, with such violence *towards* the fire, that it was as much as one or two of us could do to keep her out. Her Eyes were not brought to be perpendicular to her feet when she rose out of her chair, as the mechanism of an humane body requires in them that rise, but she was dragg'd *wholly* by other hands. And if we stamp'd on the hearth, just between her and the fire, she screamed out, *that by jaring the chain we hurt her.*

I may add, that *(they)* they put an unseen rope, with a cruel noose, about her *neck*, *whereby* she was choaked untill she was black in the face; and tho' it was got off before it had kill'd her, yet there were the red marks of it, and of a finger and a thumb near it, remaining to be seen for some while afterwards. Furthermore, not only upon her own looking in the Bible, but if any one else in the room did it, *wholly unknown* to her, she would fall into unsufferable torments.

A Quaker Book being brought her, she could quietly read whole pages of it; only the name of *God* and *Christ*, she still skipp'd over, being unable to pronounce it, except sometimes stammering a minute or two, or more upon it. And when we urged her to tell what the word was that she miss'd, she would say, *I must not speak it: they say I must not. You know what it is.* *'Tis* G, and O, and D. But a Book against *Quakerism (they)* would not allow her to meddle with. Such books as it might have been profitable and edifying for her to read, and especially her cathe-

chisms, if she did but offer to read a line in them, she would be cast into hideous convulsions, and be tost about the house like a foot ball; but books of jests being shewn her, she could read them well enough, and have cunning descants upon them. *Popish books (they)* would not hinder her from reading; but *(they)* would from reading books against Popery. A book which pretends to prove *that there are no witches*, was easily read by her; only the name *Devils* and *witches* might not be uttered. A book which proves *that there are witches*, being exhibited unto her, she might not read it; and that expression in the story of Ann Cole, about running to the Rock, always threw her into convulsions.

Divers of these trials were made by many witnesses; but I considering that there might be a snare in it, put a seasonable stop to this fanciful business. Only I could not but be amaz'd at one thing. A certain prayer book being brought her, she not only could read it very well, but also did read a large part of it over, calling it her Bible, and putting a more than ordinary respect upon it. If she were going into her tortures, at the tender of this book she would recover herself to read it; only when she came to the Lords prayer, now and then occurring in that book, she would have her eyes put out, so that she must turn over a new leaf, and then she could read again. Whereas, also, there are *Scriptures* in that book she could read them there; but if any shewed her the very same Scriptures in the Bible itself, she should sooner die than read them; and she was likewise made unable to read the Psalms in an ancient metre which this prayer Book had in the same volume with it. Besides these, there was another inexplicable thing in her condition. Ever now and then, an invisible horse would be brought unto her by those whom she only called (them) and (her company) upon the approach of which, her ewyes would be still closed up; for (said she,) they *say I am a*

tell tale, and therefore they will not let me see them. Hereupon she would give a spring as one mounting an horse, and settleing herself in a riding posture, she would in her chair be agitated as one sometimes ambling, sometimes trotting, and sometimes galloping very furiously. In these motions we could not perceive that she was moved by the stress of her feet upon the ground, for often she touch'd it not. When she had rode a minute or two, she would seem to be at a rendezvous with [them] that were her [company] and there she would maintain a discourse with them, asking them many questions concerning herself, (we gave her none of ours) and have answers from them which indeed none but herself perceived. Then would she return and inform us how [they] *did intend to handle her for a day or two afterwards*, and some other things that she enquired. Her horse would sometimes throw her with much violence; especially if any one stabb'd or cut the air under her. But she would briskly mount again and perform her fantastick journeys mostly in her chair; but sometimes also, she would be carried from her chair out of one room into another, very odly in the postures of a riding woman. At length, she pretended, could ride up the stairs; and unto admiration she rode, (that is was toss'd as one that rode) up the stairs. There then stood open the study of one belonging to the family: into which entering, she stood immediately on her feet, cry'd out they *they are gone! they are gone! they say that they cannot. God won't let them come here!* Adding a reason for it which the owner of the study thought more kind than true. And she presently and perfectly came to herself so that her whole discourse and carriage was alter'd unto the greatest *measure of sobriety*, and she sate reading of the Bible and other good books, for a good part of the afternoon. Her affairs calling her anon to go down again, the *demons* were in a quarter of a minute as bad upon her as before; and her *horse was waiting* for her. Some then came to see whether there had not been fallacy

in what had newly hapned, resolved for to have her up unto the study where she had been at ease before; but she was then so strangely distorted, that it was an *extream difficulty* to drag her up stairs. The *demons* would pull her out of the peoples hands and make her heavier than perhaps three of herself. With incredible toil, (tho she kept screaming, *they say I must go in,)* she was pull'd in, where she was no sooner got, before she could stand on her feet and with an alter'd note say, *now I am well.*

She would be faint at first, and say, *she felt something to go out of her,* (the noises whereof we sometimes heard like those of a mouse,) but in a minute or two, she could apply herself to *devotion,* and express herself with *discretion* as well as ever in her life.

To satisfie some strangers, the *experiment* was divers times, with the same success, *repeated,* until my loathness to have any thing done like making a charm of a room, caus'd me to forbid the repetition of it. But enough of this. The ministers of *Boston and Charleston* kept another day of *prayer with fasting,* for Goodwin's afflicted family. After which, the children had a *sensible,* but a *gradual abatement,* of their sorrows, until perfect ease was at length restored unto them. The young woman dwelt at my house the rest of the Winter; having, by a *vertuous conversation,* made herself *welcome* to the family. But ere long, I thought it convenient for me to entertain my congregation with a sermon on the *memorable providences* wherein these children had been concern'd, (afterwards publish'd.) When I had begun to study my sermon, her *tormentors* again seized upon her, and managed her with a special design, as was plain, to disturb me in what I was then about.

In the worst of her extravagancies formerly, she was more dutiful to myself than I had reason to expect. But now her *whole carriage* to me was with a sawciness which I was not used any where to be treated withall. She would

knock at my study door *affirming that some below would be glad to see me*, though there was none that asked for me. And when I chid her for telling what was false, her answer was, Mrs. Mather *is always glad to see you.* She would call to me with numberless impertinences; and when I came down she would throw things at me, though none of them could ever hurt me: And she would hecter me at a strange rate for something I was doing above, and threaten me with *mischief* and reproach that should revenge it. Few tortures now attended her but such as were provoked. Her frolicks were numberless, if we may call them hers. I was in Latin telling some young gentleman that if I should bid her look to God, her eyes would be put out; upon which, her eyes were presently served so. Perceiving that her troublers understood Latin, some trials were thereupon made whether they understood Greek and Hebrew, which it seems they also did; but the Indian languages they did seem not so well to understand.

When we went unto prayer, the *demons* would throw her on the floor at the feet of him that prayed, where she would whistle, and sing, and yel, to drown the voice of prayer, and she would fetch *blows* with her fist, and kicks with her foot, at the man that pray'd; but still her fist and foot would always recoyl when they came within an inch or two of him, as if rebounding against a wall, and then she would beg hard for other people to strike him, which (you may be sure) not being done, she cried out, *he has wounded me in the head.* But before the prayer was over, she would be laid for dead, *wholly* sensless, and (unto appearance) breathless, with her belly swelled like a drum; and sometimes with croaking noises in her. Thus would she lie, most exactly with the stiffness and posture of one that had been two days laid out for dead. Once lying thus, as he that was praying was alluding to the words of the *Canaanites*, and saying, *Lord, have mercy on a daughter vex't with a Devil*, there came a big, but low voice from her, in which

the spectators did not see her mouth to move, *there's two or three of us.* When prayer was ended, she would revive in a minute or two, and continue as frolicksome as ever.

She thus continued until Saturday towards the evening, when she assay'd with as nimble and various and pleasant an application as could easily be used, for to divert the young folks in the family from such exercises, as it was proper to the Sabbath withall; but they refusing to be diverted, she fell fast asleep, and in two or three hours waked perfectly herself, weeping bitterly to remember what had befallen her. When *Christmas* arrived, both she at my house, and her sister at home, were by the *demons* made very drunk, though we are fully satisfied they had no *strong drink* to make them so, nor *would they willingly* have been so to have saved the world. When she began to feel herself drunk, she complained, *Oh! they say they will have me to keep Christmas with them. They will disgrace me when they can do nothing else.* And immediately the ridiculous behaviours of one drunk were with a wondrous exactness, represented in her speaking and reeling, and spewing, and anon sleeping, till she was well again. At last, the *demons* put her upon saying that she was dying, and the matter prov'd such that we fear'd she really was; for she lay, she toss'd, she pull'd, just like one dying, and urged hard for some one to die with her, seeming loth to die alone. She argu'd concerning *death,* with a paraphrase on the thirty-first psalm, in strains that quite amazed us; and concluded that tho' she was loth to die, yet if God said she must, she must! Adding, that the Indians would quickly shed much blood in the country, and *horible tragedies* would be acted in the land. Thus the vexations of the children ended.

But after awhile, they began again; and then one particular minister taking a particular compassion on the family, set himself to serve them in the methods prescribed by our Lord Jesus Christ. Accordingly, the Lord being *besought*

thrice in three days of prayer, with fasting on this occasion, the family then saw their *deliverance* perfected; and the children afterwards all of them, not only approv'd themselves devout *Christians,* but unto the praise of God reckoned these their afflictions among the special *incentives* of their Christianity.

The Ministers of Boston and Charlestown, afterwards accompany'd the printed narrative of these things with their attestations to the truth of it. And when it was reprinted at London, the famous Mr. Baxter prefixed a preface unto it, wherein he says, *this great instance comes with such convincing evidence, that he must be a very obstinate* sadducee *that will not believe it.*

CONFESSIONS OF WITCHES.

I shall give the reader a taste of these things in a few instances.—The afflicted complained that the spectres which vex'd them, urged them to set their hands to a book, represented to them, (as to them it seemed) with threatnings of great torments, if they signed not, and promises of ease if they obeyed. Amongst these, D. H. as she said (which sundry others confess'd afterwards) being overcome by the extremity of her pains, did sign the book presented, and had the promised ease, and immediately upon it a spectre in her shape afflicted another person, and said, *I have sign'd the book, and have ease: now do you sign, and so shall you have ease!* And one day, this afflicted person pointed at a certain place in the room, and said there is D. H. upon which, a man with his rapier struck at the place, tho' he saw no shape; and the *afflicted* called out, saying, *you have given her a small wound about the eye.* Soon after this the said D. H. confess'd herself to be made a witch, by signing the Devils book, as abovesaid, and declared that she had afflicted the maid that complained of her, and in doing of it had received *two wounds* by a *Sword or Rapier;* a small one about the eye, which she *shewed* to the Magistrates, and an-

other on the side, of which she was search'd by a discreet woman, who reported that D. H. had on her side the sign of a wound newly healed. This D. H. confessed that she was at a witch meeting at Salem Village, where were many persons that she named, some of whom were in prison then, or soon after, upon suspicion of witchcraft; and the said G. B. preached to them, and such a woman was their Deacon, and there they had a sacrament.

Several others after this, confessed the same things with D. H., in particular Goody E. said, that she, with two others, (one of whom acknowledg'd the same) rode from Andover to the same Village Witch Meeting, upon a stick above the ground, and that in the way the stick brake, and gave the said F. a fall, whereby, said she, *I got a fall, and hurt, of which I am still sore.* I happened to be present in prison when this F. own'd again her former confession to the Magistrates. I asked her if she rode to the meeting on a stick? She said *yea.* I inquired what she did for victuals? She answered, that she carried Bread and Cheese in her pocket, and that she and the Andover company came to the Village before the meeting began, and sat down together under a Tree, and eat their food; and that she drank water out of a Brook to quench her thirst; and that the meeting was upon a plain grassy place, by which was a Cart path, in which were the tracks of horses feet: and she also told me how long they were going and returning, and some time after, told me she had some trouble upon her spirit; and when I enquired what, she said she was in fear that G. B. and M. C. would kill her; for they appeared unto her (in spectre, for their persons were kept in other rooms in the prison,) and brought a sharp pointed Iron, like a *spindle,* but four square, and threatened to take her life, because she had confessed her witchcraft, and told of them that they were with her; and M. C. abovenamed was the person that made her a witch. About a month after the said F. took

occasion to tell me the same story of her fears that G. B. and E. C. would kill her; so that the thing was much on her spirit.

Nextly I will insert the confession of a Man, about forty years of age, W. B. which he wrote himself in prison, and sent to the Magistrates, to confirm his former confession to them.

God having called me to confess my sin and apostacy in that fall, in giving the Devil advantage over me, appearing to me like a black man in the evening, to set my hand to his book, as I have owned to my shame. He told me that I should not want, so doing. At Salem Village, there being a little off the Meeting House, about an hundred fine blades, some with rapiers by their sides, which was called (and might be more for ought I know) by B. and Bu, and the trumpet sounded, and bread and wine, which they called the sacrament, but I had none; being carried over all upon a stick never being at any other meeting, I being at Cart Saturday last, all the day of Hay and English Corn, the devil brought my shape to Salem, and did afflict M. S. and R. F. by clitching my hand; and on Sabbath day, my shape afflicted M. S. and A. M. E. J. and A. F. have been my enticers to this great abomination, as one hath owned and charged her other Sister with the same. And the design was to destroy Salem Village, and to begin at the Ministers House, and to destroy the Churches of God, and to set up Satans Kingdom, and then all will be well. And now I hope God hath made me in some measure sensible of my sin and apostacy; begging pardon of God, and of the honourable Magistrates, and all God's people; hoping, and promising by the help of God, to set my heart and hand to do what in me lieth to destroy such wicked worship; humbly begging the prayers of God's people for me, I may walk humbly under all this great affliction, and that I may procure to myself the sure mercies of David.

Concerning this confession, note 1, it was his own free act in prison. 2, He said *(the Devil like a black Sheep,)*

this he had before explained to be like a *black man.* 3. That on a certain day was heard in the air the *sound of a trumpet* at Salem Village, nigh the meeting house, and upon all enquiry, it could not be found that any mortal man did sound it. 4. The three persons, he saith, the Devil in his shape afflicted, had been as to the time and manner, afflicted as he confesseth. 5. That E. J. confessed as much as W. B. charged her with. 6. Many others confessd a witch meeting, or witch meetings, at the Village as well as he.

Note also, that these confessors did not only witness against themselves, but against one another, and against many, if not all those that suffered for that crime. As for example: when G. B. was tried, seven or eight of these confessors, severally called, said they knew the said B. and saw him at a witch meeting at the Village, and heard him exhort the company to pull down the Kingdom of God, and set up the Kingdom of the Devil. He denied all; yet said he justified the Judges and Jury, in condemning of him: because there were so many positive witnesses against him; but said he died by false witnesses. M. C. had to witness against her, two or three of her own children, and several neighbours, that said they were in confederacy with her in witchcraft. A. F. had three of her children, and some of the neighbours, her own sister, and a servant, who confessed themselves witches, and said she was in confederacy with them. But alass! I am weary with relating particulars; those that would see more of this kind, let them have recourse to the Records.

It may be queried, how doth it appear that there was a going too far in this affair?

A. 1. By the numbers of the persons accused, which at length increased to about an hundred; and it cannot be immagined that in a place of so much knowledge, so many in so small a compass of land, should so abominably leap into the devil's lap all at once.

2. The quality of several of the accused was such as did bespeak *better things, and things that accompany salvation*;

persons, whose blameless and holy lives before did testifie for them; persons that had taken great pains to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; such as we had charity for, as for our own souls: And charity as a Christian duty commended to us.

3. The number of the afflicted daily increased, until about fifty persons were thus vex'd by the devil. This gave just ground to suspect some mistake, which gave advantage to the *accuser of the brethren* to make a breach upon us.

4. It was considerable, that *nineteen* were Executed, and all denied the crime to the death, and some of them were knowing persons, and had before this been accounted blameless livers. And it is not to be immagined, but that if all had been guilty, some would have had so much tenderness as to seek mercy for their souls, in the way of confession and sorrow for such a sin. And as for the *condemn'd confessors* at the bar, (they being reprieved,) we had no experience whether they would stand to their self-condemning confessions when they came to die.

5. When this prosecution ceased, the Lord so *chain'd up Satan*, that the afflicted grew presently well; the accused are generally quiet; and for five years since, we have no such molestations by them.

6. It sways much with me, which I have since heard and read of the like mistakes in other places. As in Suffolk in England, about the year 1645, was such a prosecution, until they saw that unless they put a stopt it would bring all into blood and confusion. The like hath been in France, until nine hundred were put to death. And in some other places the like. So that New England is not the only place circumvented by the *wiles of the wicked and willy serpent* in this kind.

In Chelmsford in Essex, (England,) *Anno* 1645, there were thirty try'd at once, before Judge Coniers, and fourteen of them hang'd, and an hundred more detained in several prisons in Suffolk and Essex.

As to our case at *Salem*, I conceive it proceeded from some mistaken principles: as that Satan cannot assume the shape of an innocent person, and in that shape do mischief to the bodies and estates of mankind; and that the devil, when he doth harm to persons in their body or estate, it is (at least most commonly, generally, and frequently,) by the help of our neighbours, some witch in covenant with the devil; and that when the party suspected looks on the parties suppos'd to be bewitch'd, and they are thereupon struck down in a fit, as if struck with a cudgel, it is a proof of such a covenant.

[The author elsewhere speaking of another mistaken principle, takes occasion to mention the following passage.]

I remember, when there was a great discourse about witches, a very holy man heard his wife say she desired a sucking Pig; and he going to a neighbour's house, saw a sow with a litter of pigs, and took a fancy to one of them in particular for his wife, and asked the owner for that pig. The owner denied him; hereupon he went away in a great passion, very unsuitable to such a person; and that very pig left its dam and company, and followed this man to his home. This was observed, and it was supposed Satan might have some hand in it; taking advantage upon the passion of so good a man, to render him suspected by such an accident, if he could.